

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Both branches of Congress having organized on Monday, the Annual Message of the President was on that day transmitted to them. As is usual with documents of this character, it is of considerable length, and having no wish to inflict on readers with its perusal in its original dimensions, we have taken the liberty of lopping off the uninteresting portions and assuming the responsibility of such a course being deemed disloyal.

After alluding to the lapse of another year of health and bountiful harvests, since the last meeting of Congress, and attributing to the Almighty the continuance of the war, the President passes immediately to a consideration of our Foreign relations.

Of them, he appears to think that though bad enough they are not as desperate as they might be. He complains of the Foreign powers having acknowledged the insurgents as a belligerent, and thinks they would have backed down from that position, but for the exaggerated statements made by "disloyal citizens abroad" of the "temporary reverses" which befall our arms. In other respects our relations with foreign powers are represented as getting on swimmingly, if we except some claims for violating neutral rights by the blockading squadron, which claims are mostly in process of adjustment. Some, however, it is proposed to refer to mutual conventions, which proposition, he says, has been kindly received, but not yet formally adopted.

The "nigger, under the title of 'Free Americans of African descent'" is the next subject broached and here we feel disposed to give his Excellency full length of the rope, hoping, however, that in his next he may find it convenient to devote the same space and as much sympathy to the welfare of "Free Americans" of the white species. He says:—

Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated by recent acts of Congress. One of the most interesting and important of these is the proposed settlement of some of our interested citizens, on the remote, patriotic considerations, and still others—inspired by philanthropic sentiment—have suggested similar measures. While, on the other hand, several of the Spanish-American Republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories. Under these circumstances, I have declined to move any such colony to any state, without first obtaining the consent of its government.

With an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all the rights of freemen; and I have, at the same time, offered to the several states situated within the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favor the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions that shall be equal, just and humane. Liberia and Hayti are, as yet, the only countries to which colonies of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens; and I regret to say such persons contemplating colonization, do not seem so willing to migrate to those countries as to some others, nor so willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, that among those in this respect is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable migration to both these countries from the United States.

A treaty of my description with the white people of the Southern States is a thing not to be mentioned, but a commercial and consular treaty with the negro governments of Liberia and Hayti, he says has been negotiated, from which beneficial results to the national commerce are anticipated.

After saying that the project for an Atlantic telegraph connecting the United States, with Europe has been by him favored, he takes up the subject of the Territories, and says:—

I have favored the project for connecting the United States with Europe by an Atlantic telegraph and a similar project to extend the telegraph from San Francisco, to connect by a Pacific telegraph with the line which is being extended across the Russian Empire.

The Territories of the United States, with an important exception, have remained undisturbed by the civil war, and they are exhibiting such evidence of prosperity as justifies an expectation that some of them will soon be in a condition to be organized as States and be constitutionally admitted into the Federal Union.

The immense mineral resources of some of these Territories ought to be developed as rapidly as possible. Every step in that direction would have a tendency to improve the revenues of the Government and diminish the burdens of the people. It is worthy of your serious consideration whether some extraordinary measures to promote that end cannot be adopted. The means which suggests itself as most effective, is a scientific exploration of the mineral regions of these Territories, with a view to the publication of its results at home and in foreign countries—results which cannot fail to be auspicious.

The subject of the "almighty dollar," or in other words the finances, is next taken up, and the "diligent consideration" of Congress upon it urged. The "vast expenditures," he says rendered necessary by the Rebellion have "hitherto been promptly met, an assertion which by the way, many of the unpaid soldiers in the army have reason to dispute. Of the hereafter, however, he appears to entertain some uneasiness, and says:

The continuance of the war, however, and the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented forces now in the field, demand your best reflections as to the best modes of providing the necessary revenue, without injury to business, and with the least possible burdens upon labor.

The large issue of "legal tenders" (redeemable paper) he considers was made unavoidable by the suspension of specie payments by the Banks. He deems the legislation which brought them into existence and gave as a currency thirty per cent worse than we had, as especially "injurious," and yet with this "universal currency," which he asserts, has saved to the people "immense sums in discounts and exchanges," he thinks "a return to specie payments" at an early day "should ever be kept in view."

As a remedy for this depreciated currency he proposes the novel measure of issuing a still larger batch—in other words, of furnishing the circulating medium for all the banks in the country, which note, he thinks, would at once protect labor against the evils of a "false currency," (meaning we presume the "small by" government issues) and

The condition of the Treasury he gives, as follows:—

The receipts into the treasury from all sources, including loans, and balance from the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1862, was \$575,859,946 06, of which sum \$49,056,897 62 were derived from customs, \$1,725,321 73 from the direct tax, \$100,000,000 00 from the sale of public lands, \$159,255,771 from miscellaneous sources, \$931,767 64 from loans in

all forms, \$529,692,460 50. The remainder, \$2,257,061 89, was the balance from last year. The disbursements during the same period were for congressional, executive and judicial purposes, \$3,939,009 19; for foreign intercourse, \$1,339,710 35; for miscellaneous expenses, including the mint, loans, post office deficiencies, collection of revenue and other like charges, \$14,129,771 58; for expenses under the Interior Department, \$3,102,854 52; under the War Department, \$34,368,307 36; under the Navy Department, \$42,674,569 09; for interest on public debt, including reimbursements of temporary loans and redemptions, \$96,096,622 09; making an aggregate of \$570,841,700 25, and leaving a balance in the treasury on the first day of July, 1862, of \$13,043,546 81.

It should be observed that the sum of \$96,096,622 09, expended for reimbursements and redemption of public debt, being included also, both from receipts and expenditures, making the actual receipts for the year \$487,727, 324 97; and the expenditures \$474,744,778 16. It gives me pleasure to report a decided improvement in the financial condition of the country, as compared with several preceding years. The receipts for the fiscal year 1861 amounted to \$2,549,256 40, which embraced the revenue from all the States of the Union for three quarters of that year.—Notwithstanding the cessation of revenue from the so-called seceded States during the last fiscal year, the increase of the correspondence of the loyal States has been sufficient to produce a revenue during the same year of \$2,269,220 70, being only \$50,000 less than was derived from all the States of the Union during the previous year. The expenditures show a still more favorable result. The amount expended in 1861 was \$13,606,759 11. For the last year the amount has been reduced to \$12,125,364 13, showing a decrease of about \$2,481,395 in the expenditures as compared with the preceding year, and about \$3,750,000 as compared with the fiscal year, 1860. The deficiency in the department for the previous year was \$4,551,966 98. For the last fiscal year it was reduced to \$2,112,814 57.

These favorable results are in part owing to the cessation of mail service in the insurrectionary States, and in part to a careful review of all expenditures in that department in the interest of economy. The efficiency of the postal service, it is believed, has also been much improved. The Postmaster General has also opened a correspondence, through the Department of State, with foreign governments, proposing a convention of postal representatives for the purpose of simplifying the rates of foreign postage, and to expedite the forwarding of mail matter. This proposition, equally important to our adopted citizens, and to the commercial interests of this country, has been favorably entertained, and agreed to, by all the governments from whom replies have been received.

The Secretary of the Interior reports as follows in regard to the public lands:—"The public lands have ceased to be a source of revenue. From the 1st of July, 1861, to the 30th of September, 1862, the entire cash receipts from the sale of lands were \$136,478 38—a sum which has been paid into the land system during the same period. The homestead law, which will take effect on the 1st of January next, such inducements to settlers, that sales for cash cannot be expected to extend sufficient to meet the demands of the General Land Office, and the cost of surveying and bringing the land into market."

Of the lesser Rebellion—that among the Indian tribes in the West—of Internal Improvements and of the Department of Agriculture he next treats, all of which we give in full:—

The Indian tribes upon our frontiers have, during the past year, manifested a spirit of insubordination, and, at several points, have engaged in open hostilities against the white settlements in their vicinity. The tribes occupying the Indian country south of Kansas, and extending to the Indian Territory, have renounced their allegiance to the United States, and entered into a treaty with the insurgents. Those who remained loyal to the United States were driven from the country. The chief of the Cherokees has visited this city for the purpose of restoring the former relations of the tribe with the United States. He alleges that they were constrained by superior force, to enter into treaties with the insurgents, and that the United States neglected to furnish the protection which their treaty stipulations required.

In the month of August last, the Sioux Indians, in Minnesota, attacked the settlements in their vicinity with extreme ferocity, killing indiscriminately, men, women and children. Their attack was wholly unexpected, and, therefore, no means of defense had been provided. It is estimated that not less than eight hundred persons were killed by the Indians, and a large amount of property was destroyed. How this outbreak was induced is not definitely known, and suspicions which may be unjust, need not be stated. Information was received by the Indian bureau, from different sources, about the time hostilities were commenced, that a simultaneous attack would be made upon the white settlements by all the tribes between the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains. The State of Minnesota has suffered great injury from this Indian war. A large portion of her territory has been depopulated, and a severe loss has been sustained by the destruction of property. The people of that State manifest much anxiety for the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of the State as a guarantee against future hostilities. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs will furnish full details. I submit for your especial consideration whether our Indian system should not be remodelled. Many wise and good men have impressed me with the belief that this can be profitably done.

I submit a statement of the proceedings of a commission which shows the progress that has been made in the enterprise of constructing the Pacific railroad. And this suggests the earliest completion of this road, and also the favorable action of Congress upon the projects now pending before them of enlarging the capacities of the great canals in New York and Illinois, as being of vital and rapidly increasing importance to the whole nation, and especially to the vast interior region, and having prepared and laid before you at an early day some interesting and valuable statistical information upon this subject. The military and commercial importance of enlarging the Illinois and Michigan canal, and improving the Illinois river, is presented in the report of Col. Webster to the Secretary of War, and now transmitted to Congress. I respectfully ask attention to it.

To carry out the provisions of the act of Congress of the 15th of May last, I have caused the Department of Agriculture of the United States to be organized.

The Commissioner informs me that within the period of a few months the department has established an extensive system of correspondence and exchanges, both at home and abroad, which promises to effect highly beneficial results in the development of a correct knowledge of recent improvement in agriculture, in the introduction of new products, and in the collection of the agricultural statistics of the different States.

Also, that it will soon be prepared to distribute largely seeds, cereals, plants and cuttings, and has already published, and liberally diffused, much valuable information in anticipation of a more elaborate report, which will in due time be furnished, embracing some valuable facts in chemical science now in progress in the laboratory.

The creation of this department is of one more valuable benefit of a large class of one which will not only meet your approbation, but that it will realize no distant day all the fond

anticipations of its most sanguine friends, and become the fruitful source of advantage to all our people.

The favorite hobby of his Excellency "compensated emancipation," is next taken up and discussed. We give this part of the document in full.

On the 22d of September last a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted.

In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully call your attention to what may be called "compensated emancipation."

A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is certain of durability. "One generation passeth away, and another cometh, but the earth abideth forever." It is of the first importance to duly consider and estimate this ever-enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States, is well adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two, or more. Its vast extent, and its variety of climate and productions, are of advantage, in this age, for one people, whatever they may have been in former ages. Steam, telegraphs and intelligence, have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

In the inaugural address I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion as remedy for the differences between the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve, and which, therefore, I beg to repeat:—

"One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly support the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections, than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate.—We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties more than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary, upon which to divide. Trace through, from east to west, upon the line between the free and slave country, and you shall find a little more than one third of its length are rivers, easy to be crossed, and populated, or soon to be populated, thickly upon both sides; while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyor's lines, over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made more difficult to pass, by writing it down on paper or parchment, as a national boundary. The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up, on the part of the succeeding section, the fugitive slave clause, along with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from, while I should expect no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take its place.

But there is another difficulty. The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dakota, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, already has above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one-third of the country owned by the United States—certainly more than one million of square miles.—Once half as populous as Mass' already is, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the map shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the Republic. The other parts are but marginal border to it, the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources. In the production of provisions, grains, grasses and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has, as yet, been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented. As yet the region has no sea coast, touches no ocean anywhere. A part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find their way to Europe by New York; to South America and Africa by New Orleans; and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets, not, perhaps, by a physical barrier, but by embarring and causing regulations.

And this is true, wherever a dividing, or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the new free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky, or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains, that none south of it can

trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it, except on terms dictated by a government foreign to them. These outlets, east, west and south, are indispensable to the well being of the people inhabiting, and to inhabit, this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best, is no proper question. All are better than either, and all, of right, belong to the people, and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will row, rather, that there shall be, no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less intersected in these communications to, and through them to the great outside world. They too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West, without passing toll at the crossing of any national boundary.

Our national strife springs not from our permanent parts; not from the land we inhabit; not from our national homestead.—There is no possible severing of this but would multiply, and not migrate, evils among us.—In all its adaptations and aptitudes, it demands union and abhors separation. In fact, it would ere long, force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our strife pertains to ourselves—to the passing generations of men; and it can, without convulsion, be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:—"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both houses concurring,) That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures (or conventions) of the several States as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures (or conventions) or to be valid as part or parts of the said Constitution, viz:—

"ARTICLE.—"Every State, wherein slavery now exists, shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand and nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit:—"The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State, bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of— per cent, per annum, to an amount equal to the aggregate sum of— for each slave shown to have been therein, by the eighth census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by instalments, or in one parcel, at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual, or at one time, within such State; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards reintroducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

"ARTICLE.—"All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of war, at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such, who shall not have been disloyal, shall be compensated for them, at the same rate as is provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

"ARTICLE.—"Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide, for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States."

I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery it could not continue.

Among the friends of the Union there is a great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery and the African race amongst us: Some would perpetuate slavery; some would abolish it suddenly, and without compensation; some would abolish it gradually, and with compensation; some would remove the freed people from among us, and some would retain them with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities, we waste much strength in struggles among ourselves. By mutual concession we should harmonize and act together. This would be compromise; but it would be compromise among the friends; and not with the enemies of the Union. These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow—at least in several of the States.

As to the first article, the main points are: First, the emancipation; secondly, the length of time for commencing it—thirty-seven years; and thirdly, the compensation.

The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery, but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement—in fact, from the necessity of any derangement—while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will halt the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in the localities where their numbers are very great; and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free forever. The plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it, to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees, extending over the whole or any part of the period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive the compensation. Doubtless some of those who say to pay, and not to receive, will object. Yet the measure is both just and economical. In a

certain sense, the liberation of slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired by descent, or by purchase, the same as other property.

It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object, this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge?

And if, with less money, or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means, than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it? Let us consider it then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if that measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done.

If so, the measure would save money, and, in that view, would be a prudent and economical measure. Certainly it is not so easy to pay something as it is to pay nothing; but it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one. And it is easier to pay any sum when we are able, than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires large sums, and requires them at once. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation, of course, would be large.

But it would require no ready cash; the bonds even, any faster than the emancipation progresses. This might not, and probably would not, close before the end of thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have a hundred millions of people to share the burden, instead of thirty-one millions, as now.—And not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after that period, as rapidly as before; because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio of increase which we have manifested, on an average, from our first national census, in 1790, until that of 1860, we should, in 1900, have a population of 103,208,415.—And why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period. Our abundant room—our broad national homestead—is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born, as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away. But such is not our condition. We have two millions nine hundred and sixty three thousand square miles. Europe has about one hundred and eighty thousand, with a population averaging seventy-three to the square mile.—Why may not our country, at some time, average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage.

The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first, two-thirds of Congress, and, afterwards, three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will, necessarily, include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no very distant day, upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance of their severally adopted emancipation at no very distant day, upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever.

I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation, by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. Nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors; nor that more of you have more experience than I, in the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves, in any undue earnestness I may seem to display.

Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity? Is it doubted that we here—Congress and Executive—can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly, or so speedily, secure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not, "can any of us imagine better?" but, "can we all do better?" The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The obligation is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

If then we are, at some time, to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this may be we can judge by the past and the present; as to when it will be, or even, depends much on whether we maintain the Union.—Several of our States are already above the average of Europe—seventy-three and a third to the square mile. Massachusetts has 167; Rhode Island, 133; Connecticut 99; New York and New Jersey, each 80. Also two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 63 and the latter 69. The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid a ratio since passing that point as ever before; while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in natural capacity for sustaining a dense population.

Taking the nation in the aggregate and we find its population and ratio of increase for the several decennial periods to be as follows:

Table with 3 columns: Year, Population, and Ratio of Increase. Data points include 1790 (3,929,827), 1800 (5,308,987), 1810 (7,239,814), 1820 (9,638,191), 1830 (12,866,020), 1840 (17,069,467), 1850 (23,191,867), 1860 (31,448,700).

These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe now is, at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory, at seventy-three and a third persons to the square mile, being a capacity to contain 217,108,000.

And we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance, by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting war springing from the only great element of national discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, brooding lesser evils indefinitely, would retard population, civilization, and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionally the wealth of the country. With these, we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debt without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per cent, per annum, simple interest, from the end of our revolutionary struggle until to-day, without paying anything on either principle or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now than each man owed upon it then; and this because our increase of men, through the whole period, has been greater than six per cent., and has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus, time alone relieves a debtor nation, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt.

This shows an average decennial increase of 84.60 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first to our last census yet taken. It is seen that the rate of increase, at no one of these seven periods, is either 2 per cent. below or 2 per cent. above the average, thus showing how inflexible and, consequently, how reliable the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, gives the following results:

Table with 3 columns: Year, Population, and Ratio of Increase. Data points include 1870 (42,823,841), 1880 (56,967,216), 1890 (76,677,872), 1900 (103,208,415), 1910 (138,918,628), 1920 (185,984,325), 1930 (261,680,914).

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And we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance, by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting war springing from the only great element of national discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, brooding lesser evils indefinitely, would retard population, civilization, and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionally the wealth of the country. With these, we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debt without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per cent, per annum, simple interest, from the end of our revolutionary struggle until to-day, without paying anything on either principle or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now than each man owed upon it then; and this because our increase of men, through the whole period, has been greater than six per cent., and has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus, time alone relieves a debtor nation, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt.

And, notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation, before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed.—Such would be only an advance part of the plan, and the same argument apply to both. This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of, but in addition to, all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. This plan would, I am confident, secure peace more speedily, and maintain it more permanently, than can be done by force alone; while all it would cost considering amount, and manner of payment, and times of payment, would be less than that of any other additional cost of the war, if we rely solely on force. It is, in such a better; very much, that it would cost no blood at all.

This fact would be no excuse for delaying payment of what is justly due; but it shows the great importance of time in this connection—the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number a hundred millions, what by a different policy we shall have to pay now, when we number but thirty-one millions. In a word, it shows that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than will be a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan. And then the latter will cost no blood, no prolebs life. It will be a saving to both.

As to the second article, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them doubtless, in the property sense, belong to loyal owners; and hence, provision is made in this article for compensating such.

The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige, but merely authorizes, Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable, on the one hand, or on the other, in so much as it comes to nothing, unless by the mutual consent of the people to be deported, and the American voters, through their representatives, to Congress.

I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization.—And yet I wish to say there is an objection urged against free colored persons remaining in the country, which is largely imaginary, if not sometimes malicious.

It is insisted that their presence would injure and displace white labor and white laborers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere the wages of white labor, and it is now. In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity. Is it true, then, that colored people can displace any more white labor, by being free, than by remaining slaves? If they stay in their old places, they injure no white laborers; if they leave their old places, they leave their old places to white laborers. Logically, there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation, even without deportation, would probably enhance the wages of white labor, and, very surely, would not reduce them. Thus the customary amount of labor would still have to be performed; the freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably, for a time, would do less, leaving an increased part to white laborers, bringing their labor into greater demand, and consequently enhancing the wages of it.

With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically certain. Labor is like any other commodity in the market—its price, the demand for it, and its supply, increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor, by colonizing the black labor out of the country, and, by precisely so much, you increase the demand and the wages of white labor.

But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land. Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored to seven whites. Could the one, in any way, greatly injure the seven? There are many communities now having more than one free colored person to seven whites; and this without any apparent consequence of evil from it. The District of Columbia and the States of Maryland and Delaware are all in this condition. The District has more than one free colored to six whites, and yet in its frequent petitions to Congress it believes it has never presented the presence of free colored persons as one of its grievances. But why should emancipation send the freed people north? People of any color seldom run unless there be something to run for. Herefore colored people, to some extent, have fled north from bondage, and now, perhaps, from both bondage and destitution. But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to flee from. Their old masters will give them wages at least until new laborers can be procured to run the freed man, in turn, will give their labor for the wages of all new laborers can be found for them in congenial climates, and with people of their own blood and race. This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved. And, in my